

in some cases, if you want to know whether they are, then let's find out. Let's look into it. Let's see if we can get the answers. And that is what my amendment does.

This has been a long, difficult speech for me to make. But I want my colleagues to know that just about everything in America is regulated—unfortunately, in some cases. There is no reason why this industry should not be regulated. Let's find out what is going on. Let's shine the light in. Let's bring the sunshine in. And let's get answers. And let's find out about the sale of body parts. Let's find out what the source of those body parts are. Let's shine the light in on the industry.

Tomorrow, I will have an amendment on that subject. I truly hope all Americans will be supportive—pro-life, pro-abortion. If you want to see to it that women are not abused, if you want to see to it that women are treated with respect and dignity, if you want to see to it that if an abortion occurs and there is a live birth, that that child should get help, should be allowed to live, if you want all that, and you care, then you should support this amendment because all it does is shine the light in. It is a disclosure amendment. That is all it is. It requires disclosure to shippers for any package containing human fetal tissue. It also contains language to limit the payment of a site fee from the transferee entity to the abortionist to be reasonable in terms of reimbursement for the actual real estate or facilities used by such an entity.

We are going to find out whether these people are in the business of selling body parts or abortions or both. What is the percentage? How much are they making on each? Shine in the light.

I have been on the floor year after year and in the House before that, for 15 to 16 years, trying to end this horrible industry, this disgusting exploitation of children and women, to no avail. If we just had a President who would pick up his pen and say, "I don't want to see another few thousand people die in the next 5 years; I am willing to sign the ban on one type of abortion," we could get a good start. But he won't do it. We are going to lose again.

So let's win with this amendment. Let's try to get an amendment passed that will shine the light in so we can find out what goes on in the industry.

I yield the floor.

MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BROWNBACK). Under the previous order, the Senate will now proceed to a period of morning business with Senators permitted to speak.

The Senator from Pennsylvania.

THOUGHTS ON DISCUSSION OF PARTIAL-BIRTH ABORTION

Mr. SANTORUM. Mr. President, I will speak briefly. The Senator from

Tennessee, Mr. FRIST, is here. I know he is planning to come and talk about this issue. Under our agreement, I agreed I would yield the floor when he gets here to make a speech.

I, first, thank the Senator from New Hampshire. I did not catch all of his remarks. I caught the last 45 minutes or so. He is talking about a very difficult issue. It is an amendment we will have to vote on tomorrow. It is not a difficult issue. It is a difficult issue to talk about. I think it is a rather simple issue. I am hopeful, again, this will be an issue where we put the politics of abortion aside and understand this kind of action should at least be looked into by some sort of study to determine whether this activity occurs and how pervasive this is.

What I would like to do tonight is share some thoughts in response to a discussion today about the anecdotes of cases that were presented in defense of partial-birth abortions. We heard about cases of women who needed this procedure to save the mother's health or the mother's life. I would like to review what the medical evidence is, again, and also bring up some cases where people took a different option and show how that option, as humane as the other side, with their wonderful pictures of husbands and wives and in some cases children, as warm and fuzzy as they would make it out to be, the fact is, in every one of those cases a child was killed. A baby was killed. That is a tragedy.

In many cases the baby would not have lived long, but the baby was killed before its time. Many of the people I am going to talk about tonight understood their baby was not going to live long or might suffer from severe abnormalities, but they were willing to take their child's life for what it was, as we all do when we are confronted with it in our own lives. We find out a son or daughter is afflicted with a horrible illness. Our immediate reaction is, well, how can I put my child out of its misery? Or my child isn't going to live very much longer; how can I end it sooner?

I don't think that is the immediate reaction of mothers and fathers in America. But yet, when it comes to the baby in the womb, we have many people who believe that is the logical thing to do. I argue that it is not the logical thing. It is not the humane thing. It is not in the best interest of the health of the mother. All those other things, in fact, in this debate don't matter.

What does matter in this debate is, is it in the best health interest of the mother? I will talk tonight about cases where people made a different choice and, I argue, from a health perspective, a better choice. When I say "health," I mean not only the physical health of the mother but also the mental health of the mother.

We will talk about some of those cases. I will talk about some of the cases that were brought up today and

explain why those cases, again, were not medically necessary to protect the health of the mother. There were other options available, even if they wanted to choose abortion.

Then I will share with you some things that have happened to me as a result of this debate and provide to my colleagues that, while we may not win all the votes, at times there are things even more important than that.

I see the Senator from Tennessee, Dr. FRIST, is here. I yield the floor to him.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Tennessee.

Mr. FRIST. Mr. President, I rise to continue the debate on the Partial-Birth Abortion Ban Act of 1999. I rise to follow the Senator from Pennsylvania, who has taken a leadership position and a moral position. I am delighted to hear he will tonight concentrate on an issue that I think has been for far too long overlooked in this debate; that is, the effects of this procedure, which is a barbaric procedure, on women. Those women are our sisters, our mothers, our daughters. That health effect is something that gets lost too often in the debate, which is not the politics. It is not the rhetoric. It is not the emotion. It is the health of the woman involved.

This is the third time I have had the opportunity to come to the floor and participate in this debate on the issue of partial-birth abortion. Each time I come, as a physician, I take the time to review the recent medical literature to see what the facts are, what the clinical studies are, what is the information and the medical armamentarium, the literature that is out there. That is where the medical profession, that is where the scientists involved in medicine, that is where the surgeons publish their experience, where you talk about indications, you talk about the side effects, you talk about risk, you talk about complications. That is where you share it with your colleagues.

Each time before coming to the floor to debate this issue and discuss this issue, I talk to my colleagues at the various institutions where I have trained and have been, on the east coast, the west coast in training. I picked up the phone and talked to several of them today, colleagues who are obstetricians directly involved in the surgical aspects of this procedure.

Each time this issue comes to the floor of the Senate, I step back and look at what studies, what developments there have been since we last discussed this issue. I rise tonight to talk about this procedure as a medical procedure. It has been interesting to me because over the course of today I have heard again and again that there is no obstetrician in this body of the Senate. I am not an obstetrician. I am a surgeon, which means I am trained to perform surgical procedures.

I am trained. I spent 20 years in both training and engaged in surgery to make surgical diagnoses, to perform